

## **The Flowering of Vocal Music in America**

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## **The Moravians And Their Music**

*by Edward A. Berlin*

In 1870 a Moravian historian, in recounting his ancestors' immigration from Germany to Pennsylvania's Lehigh Valley 130 years earlier, revealed with unexpected simplicity the essence of this unique community. He noted that, because of the arduous journey through miles of unbroken wilderness, they brought with them only the barest essentials for their new life, "...their goods, their mechanical tools, and such musical instruments as they were accustomed to play in Europe."

It was not the mere love of music that distinguished the Moravians. Musical activity was common to many colonial settlements, and if actual performances were often indifferent, this would not detract from the sincerity of the effort or from its spiritual benefits. But the musical life in Moravian communities differed significantly from the practices elsewhere in the colonies; only the Moravians had the collective desire, determination, and skills necessary to preserve and continue the fully mature musical culture known in Europe. In most of the Protestant colonies, church music was restricted to simple, unaccompanied congregational hymns or primitive (if ingenious) approximations of European vocal polyphony; music education was sporadic and haphazard, left to itinerant singing masters; concert music was the province of touring foreign virtuosos or newly arrived immigrants and performed under carnival-like conditions to draw a large but very discerning paying public. In contrast, Moravian churches rang with fully concerted music of voices, strings, winds, and organ; musical training was an integral part of the educational system, assuring a constantly renewed supply of competent performers and European-style composers; concert music was a regular and familiar feature of life, so that the hills and forests surrounding Moravian communities echoed with the chamber, orchestral, and vocal music of Haydn, Mozart, and Karl Philipp Emanuel Bach.

### *History and Social Structure*

The Moravians are a religious community tracing their roots to the fifteenth-century Bohemian theologian Jan Hus. Out of the religious and political turmoil that followed his martyrdom in 1415 emerged the nationalistic Bohemian Church and, as a subgroup in 1457, the *Unitas Fratrum* ("United Brethren"), a designation retained by the modern Moravian Church. The two centuries that followed were marked by religious persecution, culminating in the disastrous Thirty Years' War (ending in 1648), in which the Brethren was all but destroyed; the few scattered remnants preserved their faith only by clandestine practice.

The Renewed Moravian Church dates from 1722, when eleven refugees crossed into Saxony and settled on the estate of Count Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf, establishing the town of Herrnhut ("Shelter of the Lord"), which remains the spiritual center of the Church. Under Zinzendorf's leadership the group flourished, increasing its numbers to about six hundred within a decade. (Although Germans became the dominant ethnic group during this period, the Church retained its identification with its Moravian and Bohemian roots.) Responding to the Biblical command "to make disciples of all nations" (and ever mindful of the need for havens against future persecutions), in the 1730s the Moravians commenced serious missionary activities, concentrating their energies among primitive societies in such places as Lapland, West Africa, the West Indies, and the British colony of Georgia (1735).

The settlement in Georgia, where the Moravians directed their missionary efforts toward the Cherokee and Creek Indians, was short-lived. Despite the Moravian opposition to bearing arms, the local British governor insisted that they serve in the militia. Consequently, in 1740 the Moravians left Georgia for the more tolerant religious climate of Pennsylvania. There they joined with newly arrived Brethren in 1741 and established a settlement north of Philadelphia in the Lehigh Valley. On Christmas Eve, 1741, Zinzendorf (who was then in forced exile) named the community Bethlehem. Soon afterward major satellite communities were founded in Pennsylvania at Nazareth and Lititz, and in 1753 a southern branch was centered around Salem (Winston-Salem), North Carolina.

Moravian immigrants in the American settlements had been carefully chosen: able farmers and skilled craftsmen to place the communities on a sound working basis, religious leaders and evangelists to fulfill the Church's mission. The abilities of these craftsmen are still evident in the work they have left, and the numerous remaining stone buildings, constructed more than two hundred years ago to still existing well-drawn architectural plans, testify to the training and competence of their builders. The missionaries, led by polylingual evangelists who preached in Indian languages and prepared Indian versions of the Moravian hymnal, were also eminently successful. In all their endeavors the Moravians revealed thorough planning and uncommon abilities.

The settlements were organized as communal societies with the Church, headed by a council, as central authority. Various levels of structure accounted for all members of the society, as everyone was classified according to age, sex, and marital status: single brothers, single sisters, married brothers and sisters, widows, widowers, older boys, older girls, and the like. Some of these groups (called "choirs," but in a nonmusical sense) lived in communal houses, thereby contributing to a fraternal sense and allowing for substantial supervisory control. (The continued use of these houses in modern Bethlehem blends past and present in a rare continuity. The Widows' House, 1768, is still available to Moravian widows; the Brethren's House, 1748, which was used for musical rehearsals, today accommodates the Music Department of Moravian College.) In all things the welfare of the community prevailed over individual and family prerogatives. Children were raised and educated by the single sisters; marriages were the proper concern of all, and should dispute arise over the selection of mates, the Church council would make decisive rulings.

The severity of this social order (severe, that is, by today's standards; a degree of regimentation and obedience among closely knit communities was not rare at the time) was tempered by humanistic idealism. This was clearly a society with a sincere appreciation of artistic and creative expression--of

musical composition and performance, of painting, and of the skilled workmanship of clockmaking, carpentry, silversmithing, and the like--and a strong concern for education. Within a year of the founding of Bethlehem, Zinzendorf had a school built, and in a few decades the value of a Moravian education was recognized by many discerning individuals in eighteenth-century America. George Washington, for one, applied to the Bethlehem boarding school on behalf of two grandnieces. (They did not attend, though, as one became stricken with consumption.) The school apparently offered an exceedingly rich course of study, accounting for its attraction to those of enlightened thought. A letter by a twelve-year-old girl in attendance, printed in 1788 in a newspaper in far-off New Haven, Connecticut, illustrated the curriculum's breadth:

In the apartment where I reside, at the boarding school for Misses, there are about thirty little girls of my age. Here I am taught music, both vocal and instrumental, I play the guitar twice a day--am taught the spinnet and forte-piano; and sometimes I play the organ.

...Our morning and evening prayers are playing on our guitars (which we join with our voices) a few religious verses. This chapel no man or boy ever enters. At seven we go to breakfast, at eight school begins, in which we are taught reading and grammar, both English and German, for those who choose; writing, arithmetic, history, geography, composition, etc. till eleven; when we go into a large chapel, which also joins this house, where there is an organ. Here we see three gentlemen--the person who delivers a short lecture on divinity and morality--the organist, who plays a hymn, in which we join with our voices--and the boys' schoolmaster. In this meeting the boys attend with us. At three quarters after eleven we dine; and at one school begins. In the afternoon we are taught needle-work, tambour, drawing, music, etc. till three when school is out, after which we walk, or divert ourselves as we please. At six we sup, then play on some musical instruments, or do as we please, till half after seven, when we retire for evening prayers, at eight we go to bed. We sleep in a large chamber with windows on both sides, in which a lamp burns during the whole night. After we are in bed, one of the ladies, with her guitar and voice, serenades us to sleep.

The admission of non-Moravian children into Moravian schools after the Revolution was symptomatic of profound changes taking place. The communal Moravian society was not one in which outsiders could easily fit. But it still had much interaction with non-Moravian America and was not inimical to outside contacts, especially when it could serve such humanitarian needs as the refuge and care of wounded in time of war. In the mid-eighteenth century the French and Indian War brought many to Bethlehem, including Benjamin Franklin, who was an army officer at the time. Franklin wrote glowing reports of his Moravian hosts, setting the tone of similar praises that were to follow for the next century. During the Revolutionary War the Brethren's House was converted to a hospital for patriot soldiers, and again leading figures of the period visited--Washington, Lafayette, John Adams, Samuel Adams, and others. Moravian society could not remain untouched by these contacts; inevitably, the Moravians grew closer to the mainstream of American life. It was the Salem community that, in 1783, held the first Fourth of July celebration in the United States (celebrated not with fireworks but, in typical Moravian fashion, with prayer and music). This acculturation gradually eroded the society's internal order and the central control of the Church. By the mid-nineteenth century Moravian communities had become secularized, and with this step came the close of a century of unique

creativity.

### *Musical Life*

As religion was the dominating feature of Moravian society, church music was central to its musical life. And music was more than an ornament to or respite within the service; it was so integral that to some superficial observers it seemed that the Moravians went to church not to pray but to sing. These observers failed to perceive that the musical liturgy was carefully organized to convey a spiritual message, that this medium of conveyance had an effect far more profound and lasting than a sermon delivered prosaically from a minister's pulpit.

The cornerstone of Moravian church music was the congregational singing of chorales, hymns harmonized in four voices (as in the Bach Lutheran tradition) and accompanied by organ, sometimes with instrumental doublings. And there were many such hymns. At a time when other American congregations knew scarcely a dozen hymn melodies and used the same tunes for different texts, the Moravians had hundreds and were constantly composing new harmonized chorales. The writing of hymn texts was also a favorite occupation; Zinzendorf wrote over two thousand religious texts, many of which, along with the devotional lyrics of other Moravians, have been widely accepted by other Protestant denominations.

The two main noncongregational genres of Moravian church music are the song and the anthem, which are performed by rehearsed soloists and chorus. The two genres are closely related and have many similarities: they are short, usually under five minutes; they have orchestral accompaniment of strings, organ, and sometimes winds; they avoid flamboyant and virtuosic melodic displays, preferring simpler lines appropriate for trained but nonprofessional voices. In addition, anthems are usually scored for choruses that have no tenors but are composed of two sopranos, altos, and basses. The main melody is usually carried by the top voice, the others providing harmonic support. Imitation and other polyphonic devices are rare; textural variety and contrast are provided by orchestral ritornellos, vocal duets, and antiphonal exchanges between sections of the choir.

Besides the usual musical-religious services, there were several special services. The *Singstunde* ("Singing Hour") consisted of continuous, uninterrupted singing. The leader would choose individual hymn stanzas so as to reveal a Christian message. He would begin each selection without prior announcement, and before he completed the first line the congregation, thoroughly familiar with the hymnal, would join in.

Another favorite, which is still practiced, is the *Liebesmahl* ("Love Feast"), a singing service accompanied by a light meal of roll and beverage. This combination of spiritual devotion and earthly fraternalism was the idea of Zinzendorf, who, during a period of dissension within the Church, drew his inspiration from the early Christian agape. Several Love Feasts are held each year on important holidays, such as Christmas and Easter, on the feast days of each of the social orders of the community, and on other important occasions.

Among the most unusual musical traditions is the trombone choir, a survival from the town-piper and tower music of Renaissance and Baroque German-speaking communities. The choir--consisting of soprano, alto, tenor, and bass trombones--has been a staple of Bethlehem life since 1754. (Other

American Moravian towns also adopted the choir in the eighteenth century but in the nineteenth century replaced the treble trombones with more modern wind instruments.) It is used for a variety of religious, social, and civic functions: it announces deaths by playing hymns from the church steeple (the hymn melody identifies the social order to which the deceased belonged); it leads funeral processions to the cemetery (God's Acre); it awakes the community at three A.M. for Easter services and at five A.M. for other special services; it announces marriages, civic affairs, and visitors, sounds alarms, plays Christmas carols in the streets, and so on. As important as this group is, it has virtually no idiomatic repertory, most often playing from the chorale literature.

Aside from church services, almost any occasion could prompt a musical celebration. Within the first year of Bethlehem's founding, the community performed an elaborate cantata (which is still extant) consisting of a vocal trio, four recitatives with arias, a recitative-arioso section, and nine interspersed chorales sung by the congregation; it is scored for two sopranos, bass, violins, viola d'amore, recorder, and continuo. A work of this type had probably never before been heard in the colonies, and in following years the Moravians were to produce many other such firsts. The occasion for this performance was the staking-out of the Single Brethren's House, the music having been composed three years prior for a similar event in Germany. (Apparently the Bethlehemites had more enthusiasm for music-making than for building, for construction on the staked-out site was delayed for two years.) The cantata received several performances in following years, each with text changes to reflect new circumstances and topical occurrences, such as Brother Rausch's missionary work among the Mohicans.

Music was everywhere in Moravian life. When the Bethlehem farmers went into the fields for their first harvest in 1742, they were accompanied by the clergy and musicians; picnics and outings were not complete without music; births (as well as deaths) were observed musically, and birthdays often inspired songwriters. The penchant for music-making could also yield unexpected results. In 1755 a dirge played by the trombone choir so astounded a band of attacking Indians that they abandoned the siege.

Sharing responsibilities with the Church for the regulation and coordination of the community's musical life was the Collegium Musicum, an organization of nonclergy, amateur musicians--all Moravian musicians had other trades or professions--charged with providing the instrumental musical needs of the town, in church and out. Its province included secular music, which was also cultivated by the Moravians (except, in the eighteenth century, for theater, dance, and military music). The Collegium was based on European practice. Its adoption by the American Moravians--Bethlehem, 1744; Lititz, 1765; Nazareth, around 1780; Salem, 1786--sustained this institution through the first half of the nineteenth century after it had died out in Europe.

Though Moravian musicians were nonprofessionals, they were amateurs in the purest sense and, by all accounts, highly accomplished. America's Renaissance man, Benjamin Franklin, whose writings on music reveal uncommon insight, praised the "good Musik" he heard in Bethlehem in the mid-eighteenth century, and a French visitor in 1780 wrote that he "...was astonished with the delicious sounds of an Italian concerto, but my surprise was still greater on entering a room where the performers turned out to be common workmen of different trades, playing for their amusement...." In 1803 a young woman from New England wrote of her delight in visiting "famous Bethlehem" and experiencing its musical life:

About 20 musicians of the Brethren were playing in concert--an organ, 2 bass viols, 4 violins, two flutes, two French horns, two clarinets, bassoon....It was delightful to see these men, who are accustomed to laborious employments, all kinds of mechanics, and so perfect in so refined an art as music. One man appeared to take the lead and played on several different instruments, and to my great astonishment I saw the famous musician enter the breakfast room this morning with the razor-box in his hand to shave some of the gentlemen. Judge of my surprise; and some one mentioned he had just been fixing a watch downstairs.

With such an active musical life, the Moravians required an ample supply of music. And despite their traditional ways, in music they had a strong interest in what was new. Copies of the most recent European compositions were provided by immigrants, by European visitors, and by American Moravians returning from stays in Europe. The archives in Bethlehem and Winston-Salem testify to the importance of these sources, for thousands of works, mostly in handwritten form but including a few first editions, are preserved--works by both the prominent and the obscure: Haydn, Mozart, Karl Stamitz, the Bachs (Johann Christian, Karl Philipp Emanuel, Johann Christoph Friedrich, Johann Ernst), to name just a few. (Some of these manuscripts are the only copies of European works that are otherwise unknown.) The Moravians were playing important works of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries long before they were known by other Americans. Though secluded in country villages, the Moravians were musically the most cosmopolitan of Americans.

The Moravians also nurtured their own composers, who wrote in the prevailing European styles. Between German-born Jeremiah Dencke (see Disc One, Tracks 1 & 5), who composed his first American work in 1765, and American-born Francis Florentine Hagan (1815-1907), the Moravians produced some dozen or so composers worthy of notice. None is a towering figure, but some compare favorably with their average European counterparts; when viewed against their American contemporaries, the Moravian composers stand apart by virtue of their training, craftsmanship, and experience with orchestral music.

The impression is often given that the American Moravians were an insular people, practicing an idyllic musical life in isolation and unheard by the outside world. This is meant to explain the Moravian's lack of influence on America's musical development. But if Moravians were not reflected in mainstream American musical life, it was not because of insularity or isolation. The Moravians were known; they had considerable contact with the world beyond their communities; and they often found themselves amid events significant in American history. If others failed to borrow from and build on Moravian music, it was not necessarily because they knew nothing of it but because they had no need of it and, in most cases, were musically unprepared to accept it. Moravian composers wrote almost entirely for their own Church. What use would the English colonials have for music that reflected a theology and tradition foreign to them, and written mostly in German? And even if they desired the music, how many communities had the trained musicians capable of performing it? The Moravian educational system, which produced a continuous supply of competent instrumentalists, was not followed throughout the colonies. Even after the Revolution, as concerted music gained acceptance in churches, particularly in New England, music imported from England--Handel, Arne, and others--and that written by local residents was far more accessible and usable than the Moravian product. It was not insularity but cultural distinction that confined the influence of Moravian music. The music was

available for those interested, but while there were many admirers, there were no takers. This unique society therefore played out its musical life alone. And perhaps necessarily: as the Moravians merged with the American mainstream in the nineteenth century, the assimilation that enriched other areas of their lives also diluted their particular musical genius.

### **Disc One**

Tracks 1 & 5

JEREMIAH DENCKE

*Meine Seele erhebet dem Herrn*

*Gebet in dem Geruch Seines Braeutigams-Namens*

It is with Jeremiah Dencke (1725-1795) that the lineage of American Moravian composers begins. His output was small, but as the first American to write concerted vocal music, and with a skill otherwise unknown in the colonies at that time, he is secured a niche in music history.

Dencke was born in Silesia. His musical talent was such that by twenty-three he was organist at Herrnhut. In 1761 he emigrated to America, where he served various settlements in Pennsylvania. He composed his first American work--an anthem--for a Love Feast held in Bethlehem on August 29, 1765. For the next few years he continued composing for special festivals, but his pastoral duties and his responsibilities in administering a patriots' hospital in Bethlehem during the Revolutionary War took priority over his music. Nevertheless, his example was important in establishing the American Moravian tradition of composition.

Both these songs were written for the 1767 Maegden-Fest, a celebration held by the younger girls, and it is evident that the music was intended for youthful vocalists. The melody of "Meine Seele" is based on a hymn of the same name, commonly known as the "German Magnificat," and would have been familiar to any Moravian child raised from infancy on chorales. The orchestral part, though modeled on the more ambitious pattern of an aria accompaniment, enhances rather than overpowers the voice. "Gebet in dem Geruch Seines Braeutigams-Namens" is a longer, more sophisticated work; it is closer in style to an aria, with text repetitions and a more elaborate melodic shape, but is still well within the capabilities of amateur performance.

*Meine Seele erhebet dem Herrn,  
und mein Geist freuet sich Gottes, meines Heilandes.  
Den Seine Barmherzigkeit ist so gross, als Er selber ist,  
und Seine Gnade waehret ewiglich.*

My soul doth magnify the Lord,  
and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour.  
For as His majesty is, so is His mercy,  
The grace of the Lord is everlasting.

\* \* \*

*Gebet in dem Geruch Seines Braeutigams-Namens;  
so wird der Koenig Lust haben an eurer Schoene,*

*und Sich zu euch halten.  
Und der Friede Gottes wird eure Herzen und Sinnen  
in Christo Jesu bewahren.*

Go ye forth in His name, in the name of the Bridegroom.  
So shall the King greatly desire your beauty,  
and join himself to you.  
And the peace of God shall keep your hearts and minds  
through Christ Jesus.

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## **Track 2**

GEORG GOTTFRIED MUELLER

*Mein Heiland geht ins Leiden*

It is unfortunate that so little is known of the life and music of George Gottfried Mueller (also anglicized as George Godfrey; 1762-1821), for his eight surviving works reveal a most sensitive composer. Born in a village near Herrnhut, he came to America in 1784 and served as a minister and musician in several Moravian communities in Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Ohio. He was a leading figure in the Collegium Musicum of Lititz, and here his major musical work seems to have been accomplished.

The score for "Mein Heiland geht ins Leiden" is reconstructed from the organ part, which is all that survives. The work was probably written in the 1790s, although its conservative church style suggests earlier eighteenth-century music. Consistent with the plaintive nature of the text, the music is in the minor mode; notable is the use of such Baroque expressive conventions as the dissonant chromatics on "*Leiden*" ("anguish") and in the interlude following "*und stirbt*" ("and dies").

*Mein Heiland geht ins Leiden,  
begiebt sich aller Freuden,  
dass Er mir Freud erwirbt;  
und um mir ew'ges Leben  
aus Gnad und Recht zu geben,  
neigt Er Sein Haupt und stirbt.*

*Nun steh' ich auch und weine,  
vor Freuden, dass ich Seine  
und bet' Ihn herzlich an.  
O Lieben sonder Schranken,  
wie soll ich's Ihm g'nug danken  
was Er fuer mich gethan.*

My Saviour lies in anguish  
renouncing ev'ry gladness,



that I in joy may rise;  
unto a life forever  
through grace and just endeavor,  
He bows His head and dies.

Now stand I up while weeping,  
with joy that in His keeping,  
my heart will always be.  
O sacrifice unending,  
How can I ever thank Him,  
all that He did for me.

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Track 3

DAVID MORITZ MICHAEL

*Ich bin in meinem Geiste*

David Moritz Michael (1751-1827) was a European Moravian who devoted much of his career to the American mission without becoming a permanent resident. Born in Germany, he spent some formative years as a Hessian military musician before joining the Moravian Church in 1781. In 1795 he accepted the assignment to go to America, where he became a major figure in the musical life of Nazareth (1795-1808) and Bethlehem (1808-15). He led the Collegia of both towns, was known as an exceptional teacher, and inspired admiration as a performer on violin and most wind instruments (on some social occasions it was his habit to amuse friends by playing two French horns simultaneously). His composition output was small, but among his works are some that are prominent in Moravian literature: his 1805 setting of Psalm 103 is the earliest extended, cantata-like composition from an American Moravian community and possibly the earliest such work composed in the United States; more unusual, and reflecting his military background, are sixteen wind suites, or *Partbien*--quintets and sextets for flutes, clarinets, horns, trumpets, and bassoons. Four of these were written specifically for community outings in which the musicians, seated on a raft, led the townsfolk along the scenic Lehigh River in an afternoon of "music, social concourse and delightful prospect."

After serving the Moravian community in America so well for two decades, Michael retired to Germany for his last twelve years.

"Ich bin in meinem Geiste," to a text by Christian Renatus von Zinzendorf (1727-1752), son of the Church's modern founder, is a characteristic Moravian sacred aria of the late eighteenth century, imparting the all-important spiritual message in the most direct manner; typical are the inevitable shift to a doleful minor mode accompanying reference to the Passion, and the dramatic pause preceding Jesus' words.

*Ich bin in meinem Geiste*

*so gern wo Jesus ist,*

*und wo mein Herz das meiste*

*von Heil und Trost genießt;  
Da fñhrt Er mich zuruecke  
auf seine Passion,  
und spricht: "Dein ewigs Gluecke  
entstand allein davon!"  
Da fall' ich vor Ihm nieder,  
und bet' Ihn herzlich an;  
Und immer schallt mir's wieder,  
was Er fuer mich getan!  
das kann mein Herz entzuenden,  
das es vor Grenden traent,  
weil Er all' meine Suenden  
gebuesst hat und versoehnt.*

I love to dwell in spirit  
where my Lord Jesus is  
and where my heart enjoyeth  
all comfort and all bliss;  
He leads me to remember  
He bore the Cross for me,  
and speaks: "Thy soul's salvation  
then came through me to thee!"  
I pray and kneel before Him,  
"My Lord, I worship Thee;  
and always I'll remember  
what Thou has done for me!"  
My heart is filled with gladness,  
and tears I weep for joy;  
My guilt has been amended,  
Christ washed my sins away,  
He has my soul redeemed  
and washed my sins away.

Edited and arr. by Donald M. McCorkle and Thor Johnson. © 1958 by Boosey & Hawkes, Inc.

#### **Track 4**

JOHANN FRIEDRICH PETER

*Leite mich in Deiner Wahrheit*

Reverend Johann Friedrich (John Frederik) Peter (1746-1813) is generally considered the finest of the American Moravian composers. Born in Holland of German Moravian parents (his father was a minister), he was educated in Holland and Germany. While still a student he copied a vast amount of vocal, chamber, and orchestral music, which he brought with him to America when he emigrated in 1770, and which formed the basis of a manuscript library that was to increase considerably during his lifetime; extant manuscripts in his graceful calligraphy of works by Haydn (including the complete score of *The Creation*), Boccherini, Johann Stamitz, Karl Friedrich Abel, and others show his intimate

familiarity with some of the best and most current European music of his time. In America he first settled as a teacher in Nazareth. During this period he composed his earliest works: sacred arias, duets, and chorales. In 1773 he moved to Bethlehem, where, with growing confidence as a composer, he wrote his first choral anthems with orchestral accompaniment (all told, he composed over a hundred concerted vocal works). Six years later he transferred to Salem, where he took charge of both liturgical and secular music and about 1781 formed what in 1786 was to be called the "Collegium Musicum der Gemeine in Salem." Stemming from his Salem days are his only secular compositions, six string quintets, apparently the earliest chamber music written in the United States. These were written for local use and tailored to the limitations of a violist and cellist of uncertain abilities; the other viola part (which may have been played by Peter himself; he also performed on violin and organ) and the two violin parts are more demanding. That Peter never returned to secular composition may be attributed to his piety, for in his *Lebenslauf* (an autobiographical sketch customarily prepared for reading at one's funeral) he confesses his temptations and consequent distress on realizing the worldly notice attracted by his musical talents.

In 1789, shortly after completing the quintets, Peter left Salem to fulfill missions in several smaller Moravian communities. He returned to Bethlehem in 1805 and continued an active career until the last day of his life, providing organ music for the children's morning prayers just a few hours before he died.

"Leite mich in Deiner Wahrheit" was first performed in Nazareth on July 13, 1770, a few months after Peter's arrival in America. It is usually considered his earliest work, but, despite signs of immature technique, the music's effectiveness discounts this likelihood.

*Leite mich in Deiner Wahrheit und lehre mich die Wahrheit.  
Du bist der Gott, der mir hilfft;  
taeglich harre ich Dein.*

Lead me in Thy truth and teach me the truth.  
Thou art the God of my salvation.  
All the day do I wait on Thee.

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Tracks 6-10

JOHANNES HERBST

*Abide in me; See Him; And thou shalt know it; How greatly doth my soul rejoice;  
Thanks be to Thee*

Johannes Herbst (1735-1812) was a man of rich musical culture and boundless energy. His library, almost entirely in his own hand, constitutes the most important and extensive collection of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century music manuscripts in America, including, besides his own compositions, works by K. P. E. Bach, Handel, Mozart, Haydn, Johann Joachim Quantz, Pergolesi, and others, and numbering more than ten thousand pages. Aside from being a prodigious copyist, he was a minister, teacher, school principal, diarist, poet, translator, and performer, and the most prolific composer

among the Moravians in America.

Herbst was born in Swabia, was educated in Herrnhut, and served missions in several Moravian communities on the Continent and in England. When he arrived in America at the age of fifty-one he had already had a full career as clergyman and musician, but he continued his active life. In Pennsylvania he was first assigned pastoral duties in Lancaster, where he quickly became sufficiently prominent to be appointed a trustee at Franklin College and to associate with George Washington and James Buchanan. In 1791 Herbst transferred to Lititz, where he remained for the next two decades as pastor, teacher and principal of the girls' boarding school, and as performer and composer. In Lititz he wrote more than thirty of his approximately one hundred and twenty-five anthems and almost a hundred and fifty of his two hundred songs. He was consecrated bishop of the Moravian Church in 1811. Shortly afterward he moved to Salem, North Carolina, where he lived the last eight months of his life.

Herbst wrote texts in both German and English, and often made translations into the latter. As with other Moravian composers, the spiritual message of the text held primacy over musical artifice, and he occasionally applied a new text to an existent song, at times even disregarding the apparent incongruity between the musical expression and the meaning of the text. However, he was also cognizant of the musical conventions used to heighten the expression of a text, as is evident in two of the orchestral songs sampled here. In "See Him," the message is Jesus' acceptance of the world's sins, and the word "sins" is emphasized throughout, its first appearance being set strikingly to the dissonance of a diminished seventh chord. In "And thou shalt know it" he reaches back to the Baroque for the dotted-rhythm gesture traditionally associated with supreme power, applying it to the words "I, the mighty one." (The texts were originally in German, but the translations are faithful on these points.)

The two nonorchestral songs are from Herbst's *Hymns to be sung at the Pianoforte*, a collection of 172 songs in English, 109 by Herbst. The collection was made during the 1790s for the inspirational use of Herbst's young charges at the boarding school; accordingly, they minimize musical difficulties and maximize the spiritual message.

Abide in me and I in thee,  
just as the branch itself no fruit can bear  
    but it abide in the vine;  
no more can ye, but ye abide in me.

\*       \*       \*

See Him, see the Lamb of God,  
who bears the sins of the world.

\*       \*       \*

And thou shalt know it, that I thy Lord and King,  
that I thy Lord am thy Saviour.  
And I, the mighty one of Jacob, am thy Redeemer.

THREE SONGS BY JOHANNES HERBST--edited and arranged by Karl Kroeger. © 1978 by Boosey & Hawkes, Inc. Used by permission.

\* \* \*

How greatly doth my soul rejoice,  
that by my faithful shepherd's choice,  
my name is certainly enrolled  
among the sheep of His blest fold;  
may I by nothing e'er be drawn aside,  
but be a happy member of His bride.

Jesus th' almighty Son of God,  
takes up with mortals His abode;  
He who was sworn to Abraham,  
who ever was and is the same,  
He came and hidden mysteries revealed,  
which from the world's foundation were concealed.

\* \* \*

Thanks be to Thee, Thou slaughtered Lamb,  
for Thy eternal love and favor;  
we sinful worms, with humble shame  
acknowledge Thee our only Saviour;  
for us Thy soul was sore dismayed,  
for us Thy body was tormented,  
for us Thou bowedst Thy sacred head,  
thus by Thy death, death's power ended;

now fix our hearts and eyes  
on this Thy sacrifice;  
O that we may forget it never!  
but be it always clear,  
God did in Christ appear  
from judgment us to free forever.

"Thanks Be To Thee" and "How Greatly Doth My Soul Rejoice" (from HYMNS TO BE SUNG AT THE PIANOFORTE, by Johannes Herbst) Copyright © Moravian College, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

Track 11  
ANTHONY PHILIP HEINRICH  
*Philanthropy*

Anthony Philip Heinrich (1781-1861) (see also New World Records 80208, which contains Heinrich's

symphonic work *The Ornithological Combat of Kings*, and New World Records 80257, *The Wind Demon*) was born in Bohemia, and as a young man became a prosperous merchant and banker. He traveled extensively throughout his life, coming to the United States around 1810. After the early death in Boston of his American wife, he established his business in Philadelphia, where, as pianist, violinist, and conductor, he also became an active amateur in the city's musical life. In 1817 his business failed, and he determined to become a professional musician. He was offered a position in Pittsburgh, but when prospects did not materialize, he moved to Kentucky. Living on the frontier, impressed by the Indians and overwhelmed by the grandeur of wild nature, he was moved to compose. His first work was a massive compilation of songs and piano and violin pieces, *The Dawning of Music in Kentucky, or The Pleasures of Harmony in the Solitudes of Nature* (published in 1820). Thus ignited, his inspiration blazed for the next four decades as he composed voluminously and became one of America's leading composers, and its most nationalistic and Romantic. As he was self-taught in composition, his works were at times impractical or unplayable, but his independent vision also brought forth a freshness that delights as much as it startles. These traits, combined with his eccentric personality, endeared him to the American public, especially in New York and Boston. The affection in which he was held is apparent in that he was commonly referred to in his later years as "Father Heinrich." The affection was mixed with genuine admiration that earned him the title "the Beethoven of America."

"Philanthropy" is one of seven pieces in a miscellany of songs and piano pieces titled *The Sylviad; or Minstrelsy of Nature in the Wilds of N. America*. The collection was published in Boston in 1823 and is distinct from another *Sylviad* that Heinrich compiled several years later. He dedicated the earlier collection to the Royal Academy of Music in London, probably to pave his way into English musical life in anticipation of a trip to England. In addition, he tailored the fifth piece of this set as a tribute to a board member of the Royal Academy known for her beneficence toward the arts and titled it "Philanthropy: a vocal address to Mrs. Coutts, a distinguished patroness of the Royal Academy of Music in Great Britain and its only constitutional governess." Immediately on arriving in England in 1826, he dispatched a copy to Mrs. Coutts. His offering failed to inspire her to like sentiments, and she returned the score without comment.

*The Sylviad* is vintage Heinrich, with all the outrageous and extravagant gestures that so puzzled his contemporaries and so delight their descendants. Among its pieces are "Toccatina Capricciosa," a highly chromatic piano work about which Heinrich wrote that "chromatic ears are rare as diamonds," and "The Minstrel's Catch, or Canone Infinitum," a canon for eight to forty voices. "Philanthropy" is no less fanciful. Heinrich pulls out all stops for a grand display of chromaticism, unexpected turns, and "wrong notes" (to which one could aptly apply the words of Charles Ives, a kindred spirit who almost a century later admonished his copyist, "All the wrong notes are *right*"). As was customary at the time, the piece offers alternate mediums of performance: as a solo song, a solo piano piece, or (as recorded here) a vocal quintet. The text, probably also by Heinrich, is conventionally genteel and bland, sharing none of the pungency of the music. Though the soprano melody is often hymn-like (and in fact was used by Heinrich for his hymn "Harmonia" in 1832), mixed with occasional coloratura passages, the lower voices impart a harmonic disquiet as they slide most unstylishly through chromatic dissonances. Even more dramatic, though, and startling, are the solo piano introduction and interludes, which obscure the tonality with harmonic relationships seemingly of another age.

It would be interesting to know how Heinrich's contemporaries reacted to "Philanthropy," if indeed any ever heard it. No performance is known to have occurred, and perhaps Heinrich, by melting down

the publishing plates for reuse after printing only a few copies, was acknowledging the work's limited sales potential. Though appreciated by his contemporaries, his special vision was not always synchronized precisely to their time.

Daughter of Heav'n! Philanthropy!  
I catch the willing lyre,  
And though untaught its minstrelsy,  
Yet would I wake the strain to thee,  
Do thou my song inspire.

Thy robes are of the morning hue  
Fair as the risen day;  
Sweet is thy voice to feeling true,  
Thy tears like evening drops bedew,  
Thy smiles new sweets display.

The orphan knows thee, and the poor  
Are seen within thy gates;  
The widow shares thy lib'ral store,  
The friendless bless thy open door  
Where Sympathy awaits.

Beneath the hospitable dome,  
Is lib'ral feeling found,  
Fair Candour there hath fixed her home,  
Within thy walls, for those that roam,  
Doth Charity abound.

Taught by the Power before whose eye,  
All hearts unvailed [*sic*] appear;  
The frailties that the proud decry,  
Awake in thee, the feeling sigh,  
And Pity gives the tear.

Philanthropy! alone are thine  
The sweets of pleasure sure;  
Thy impulse can the heart refine,  
Can form its Source divine,  
Immaculate and pure.

Where we discern thy form impressed,  
Where lib'ral feeling moves  
We view unnumbered mercies rest,  
He is, and ever shall be blessed,  
Whom Heav'n with thee approves.

## **The Flowering of Vocal Music in America**

by William Brooks

Europeans had argued for centuries about the proper way to set texts to music. The debate tipped first one way, then another, and composers scurried hastily from side to side, trying to trim their craft despite changing historical currents and erratic ecclesiastical winds. Should music present words or interpret them? Must the text be foremost, with the sound a graceful ornament; or could the music take its own course, expressing the words' sentiments but perhaps obscuring their details?

The composer's art was late in reaching the New World, and it arrived in a land already fragmented by conflicting social visions. Most immigrants had come not merely to escape an imperfect world, but to build a better one--to demonstrate the ways of God or nature to man. Music, like other social activities, took on new significance; disputes over its course were compounded in the maze of channels cut by political idealism. Questions that had been aesthetic became ideological: would the unity of homophony prevail over the individuality of polyphony? Was America to offer the world a well-regulated, unambiguous message, or an uproarious mix of contending voices?

Those who cared sought out the appropriate musics. Boston's anarchic agitator, Sam Adams, sang lustily alongside William Billings, the musical individualist who prayed that "these thy fugers be unanimously disagreed, and sweetly irreconcilable." Sensible Ben Franklin protested the confusion of polyphony, preferring the clear narrative and practical maxims of ballads and broadsides. The modest patrician Francis Hopkinson wrote pastoral airs and literary parodies for Philadelphia's merchant-aristocrats.

Thus it was the egalitarian, individualist polyphony of the New England tunesmiths that blossomed during the near-anarchy of the Revolution and the period that gave rise to the Articles of Confederation. But that style declined in the following decade, for the postwar period was a time of conservative consolidation. In the economic disarray caused by the struggle, the propertied class regained control of the government. In Massachusetts, the anarchic hotbed of the 1770s, a reactionary Constitution and Assembly eventually precipitated outright rebellion by debtors and farmers. The National Constitution, emphasizing Federal unity and the regulation of commerce at the expense of regional liberties, replaced the weaker Articles of Confederation. The excesses of the French Revolution heightened fears of unbridled Republicanism; by successfully labeling Jefferson and his supporters "Jacobins," the conservative Federalist party carried the day.

The music changed accordingly. The thickets of homegrown polyphony were cut and cleared, and proper gardens installed, in which paths and signs ensured correct behavior. Colorful tangles of fuguing tunes were supplanted by pastel beds of reform hymns. Hierarchic homophony, regulated by harmonic "science," crowded out the melodically independent, successively composed polyphony. Music became one more tool by which an emerging American aristocracy could identify itself; the tunesmiths' radical egalitarianism was driven steadily south and west, where it was eventually renewed by revivalists and Jacksonians.

With Jefferson's election in 1800, a Republican period began that required new strategies from the reformers. Partisans of an inherently elitist music, the Republicans responded to the change by proposing to educate the public to their tastes. Their musical style, already straightforward, was



simplified still further; even European imports were altered to fit their standards. Thus, although the models for reform anthems were the English oratorios, only melodic shapes and harmonic progressions were actually copied; texture and form were discarded. When European works were adapted, the "airs" alone were retained; contrapuntal passages were excised or rewritten homophonically. The rule seems to have been that a work's complexity should not surpass that of the paradigmatic "Hallelujah Chorus"; thus the brief descriptive counterpoint in such pieces as Dr. Jackson's *Dying Christian to His Soul* was very nearly excessive.

In part, then, American music from 1775 to 1825 alternated between two musical/political ideologies: one in which a belief in participatory equality encouraged polyphonic diversity at the expense of intelligibility and order, and a second in which a musical aristocracy preserved its position by requiring adherence to a well-regulated homophonic style. (See New World Records NW 276, *The Birth of Liberty: Music of the American Revolution*; NW 80299, *Music of the Federal Era*; NW 255, *Make a Joyful Noise: Mainstreams and Backwaters of American Psalmody, 1770-1840*; and NW 232, John Bray's *The Indian Princess* and Raynor Taylor's *The Ethiop*.)

But it was a third ideology that ultimately dominated the remainder of the century--one in which social position was determined economically, and which therefore treated music as a commodity whose value was best determined in the marketplace. The earliest openly commercial music was associated with the theater, and it was a ballad-opera performer, Benjamin Carr, who first understood the potential of music publishing. The efforts of reformers to increase musical literacy slowly converted middle-class Americans to a written tradition, steadily augmenting the market for sheet music. But contrary to the reformers' hopes, literacy did not necessarily elevate taste, and, ironically, in the end their work helped to establish an industry that catered to tastes they detested.

It was already clear early in the nineteenth century that the Republican market required a new sort of song. In Jefferson's America, the refinements of European Baroque and Classical styles had little appeal; what buyers wanted was a good tune, memorable but consistent with melodies they already knew. Moreover, the shepherds and nymphs that roamed the groves of eighteenth-century verse had lost their charm; a poetry was required that was direct, simple, and personal. In sum, a commercially valuable gap had opened between the art and folk traditions, and this gap was suddenly filled by the Irish singer and poet Tom Moore.

It is difficult to overstate Moore's importance to the first quarter of the nineteenth century. There were no marketing surveys then, of course, but his popularity can be measured, in part, by the number of issues listed in Richard Wolfe's bibliography of secular music in that period. There Moore is given as the author of the text in some 556 issues (many others doubtlessly printed his poetry without attribution). This exceeds, by nearly a four-to-one margin, the number of issues attributed to his closest competitor, Sir Walter Scott (143). Other popular poets were Robert Burns (108), Thomas Dibdin (51), and Lord Byron (47). Then again, of the three English composers most popular in America at that time--Sir John Stevenson (593 issues), James Hook (416), and Henry Bishop (353)--two were closely associated with Moore's poetry. Only Hook did not set Moore; Stevenson was known almost exclusively for his Moore settings and arrangements, and a quarter of Bishop's pieces use texts by the Irishman. (There are, in addition, 202 issues in which the music is attributed to Moore himself.)

Similarly, the three most popular American composers, by the same measure, were Benjamin Carr (161

issues), James Hewitt (159), and Oliver Shaw (119); Moore was the only poet set by all three composers. Shaw, who lived until 1848, was possibly the most highly regarded American composer of the first half of the nineteenth century, and Moore was his favorite author. Shaw's two most popular songs, "Mary's Tears" and "There's Nothing True but Heaven," both set Moore texts. And so it goes; Moore's popularity, overwhelming in its day, has extended into the present century (Charles Ives, for example, set "Love's Young Dream" in his song "Canon").

Moore himself probably cared little about his place in American culture. He visited America only briefly, in 1803-4, and although he was lionized by Joseph Dennie's Philadelphia litterateurs, he detested the country's "vulgarity of vice [and] hostility to all the graces of life." The son of a wealthy merchant, he spent much of his life exploiting his wit and charm to penetrate London's high society. His career began with a classical translation (the *Odes of Anacreon*), and he continued to employ classical, exotic, or topical themes in poetic excursions such as *Lalla Rookh*, or satires such as the *Odes upon Cash, Corn, Catholics, and Other Matters*. These and similar works brought London to a boil but barely raised a bubble in the States; in America Moore's reputation rested instead almost entirely on the *Irish Melodies*, *Sacred Melodies*, and *National Airs*.

These verses, generally set to folk tunes or folk-like airs, voiced American anxieties about the family, the changing countryside, and the lost homeland with a directness that had been masked earlier by poetic artifice. James Hook was the most popular composer in America in the eighteenth century; one of his best-known and most characteristic love songs contained the following text:

When fairies trip round the gay green,  
    And all nature seems sunk into rest,  
Thro' valleys I wander unseen,  
    My heart with sad sorrow opprest;  
Then oft by the murmuring streams,  
    Fair Eleanor's loss I deplore,  
As alone by the moon's silver beams,  
    I sigh for the girl I adore.

When my flocks wander o'er the wide plain,  
    To some thicket of woodbine I rove;  
There I pensively tune some soft strain,  
    Or sing forth the praise of my love:  
Where does my fair Eleanor stray,  
    Must I ne'er see the nymph any more?  
Thus distracted, I mourn the long day,  
    And sigh for the girl I adore.

There is literally a world of difference between this and Moore's most famous love song:

Believe me, if all those endearing young charms,  
    Which I gaze on so fondly today,  
Were to change by to-morrow, and fleet in my arms,  
    Like fairy-gifts fading away,

thou would'st still be my adored, as this moment thou art,  
Let thy loveliness fade as it will,  
And around the dear ruin each wish of my heart  
Would entwine itself verdantly still.

It is not while beauty and youth are thy own,  
And thy cheeks unprofan'd by a tear  
That the fervour and faith of a soul can be known,  
To which time will but make thee more dear;  
No, the heart that has truly lov'd never forgets,  
But as truly loves on to the close,  
As the sun-flower turns on her god, when he sets,  
The same look which she turn'd when he rose.

There are fairies in Moore's poem, as well, but their effect is "fading away"; young love, no longer distracted, confronts evocations of family, age, and change. Countering the decay portrayed in the first stanza, the second issues a precept for steadfastness ("the heart that has truly lov'd never forgets"); the final image, echoing the material of the first few lines, transforms that which had been fleeting into cyclic constancy. Moore's poem foreshadows precisely the two most important features of American song texts in the next century: the yearning for constancy or return in the face of change or loss, and the marriage of personal experience with moral suasion. As the music industry grew, these themes were broadened and simplified by commercial songwriters, eventually becoming the sentimental clichés of the second half-century. But it is not necessary to turn away from these later songs, nor to look back to Moore as the last great poet of popular music. Moore's precept for life applied to popular song as well: it would still be adored, as it was in his day, let its loveliness fade as it will.

## Disc 2

BENJAMIN CARR  
(1769-1831)  
*The Lady of the Lake*  
(Sir Walter Scott)

The good Dr. Jackson had only one genuine hit in his entire oeuvre, a genteel song called "One Kind Kiss" (1796). This was first published in Philadelphia by Benjamin Carr, and was the only work by Jackson that Carr ever printed. Jackson's subsequent departure for New York perhaps explains the solitary issue, but Carr's disinterest is also an indication of his good business judgment.

Carr's sensitivity to public taste was no doubt partly due to his early work in ballad opera. Like Jackson, he had--before emigrating--been well-established in London as a singer and composer; his opera *Philander and Sylvia* had been produced at Sadler's Wells in 1792. That same year, two rival Philadelphia producers visited London in search of new talent, and their competing descriptions may have enticed the aspiring thespian to emigrate.

At any rate, Carr arrived in Philadelphia in the spring of 1793, followed shortly by his father and brother. In July they opened a shop and began publishing and selling music under the imprint of "Carr

& Co." Carr's father had maintained a music store in London for many years, with average success, but in America the family discovered the riches of an untapped market; the following year the Carrs opened branches in Baltimore and New York. From the start, Carr & Co. sought a broad appeal, publishing songs, instrumental music, church music, and miscellanies drawn from Europe and from "Men of Genius in [this] country."

Meanwhile, young Benjamin was furthering his career as a performer and composer. In the spring of 1794 he sang at four concerts and contributed airs to an opera, and that December he appeared in New York in Thomas Arne's *Love in the Village*. Reviewers praised his "pleasing and comprehensive voice," but observed with more hope than assurance that "practice will make him a good actor." That same year Carr's *Federal Overture*, a medley of nine tunes, five of them political, marked the beginning of his complex career; the work is historically significant since it contains the first American printing of "Yankee Doodle." *The Archers, or Mountaineers of Switzerland*, a ballad opera based on the William Tell story, was issued in 1796, and a steady stream of songs, operas, and incidental works followed during the remainder of the century.

James Hewitt took over the New York store in 1797, and three years later Carr left the family business altogether. He had already abandoned acting, and in 1801 he began a more proper career as church organist, choir director, composer, and editor. He held appointments with four Philadelphia churches; composed masses, hymns, and anthems; and issued several large collections of church music. For his father he edited two important serials: the *Musical Journal for the Pianoforte* (1800-1804) and *Carr's Musical Miscellany* (1812-25). In the last three decades of his life he worked assiduously to improve public taste by teaching, writing, composing secular and pedagogical works, and directing concerts. The most ambitious of these, held in 1810, consisted entirely of excerpts from *The Creation* and the *Messiah*. For this concert and later efforts Carr assembled a dedicated group of musicians; in 1820 they formed the Musical Fund Society, an organization that would be central to Philadelphia's musical life for the next forty years. Carr's most lasting achievements, like Dr. Jackson's, were thus pedagogical and organizational, although the skill, quantity, and popularity of his compositions make them of considerable importance.

Sir Walter Scott was, after Moore, the most popular poet of the early 1800s, and was especially like by Carr; nearly a quarter of his sixty-one songs are settings of Scott. First published in 1810, *The Lady of the Lake* is a long narrative poem based on a legend about James V, the sixteenth-century Scottish king. Among songwriters it was Scott's most popular text, and it was treated in full by several nineteenth-century Europeans: *Lady of the Lake* operas written by Rossini (1819) and Johann Vesque von Puettlinggen (1829), a cantata composed by Sir George Macfarren (1877), and "musical illustrations" by Joseph Kemp are but a few examples. Settings were also made of individual poems; perhaps the most famous is Schubert's "Ave Maria," to the text of the "Hymn to the Virgin."

Carr's song cycle was published within months of Scott's poem, anticipating the later European settings. It ignores the dramatic narrative of the poem, concentrating instead on the interwoven lyrical ballads. These are handled individually, with no regard for their original order or place in the narrative. The music is in the style of ballad-opera songs, the aim, above all, to clearly present the text; the rhythm follows that of the words, and accompaniments remain extremely simple. Although no attempt is made to convey Scott's story, the dramatic content of each individual poem is carefully considered. In the original, Ellen (the "lady of the lake") sings the "Hymn to the Virgin" accompanied by a harpist-

minstrel; accordingly, Carr suggests that an actual harp be used for this song and provides music idiomatic to that instrument. "Alice Brand," a ballad sung by the minstrel to ease Ellen's mind, is a miniature lyric-drama; the ballad's narrative is distributed equally among the three singers, the dialogue appropriately partitioned, and the refrains sung in ensemble. "Blanche of Devan," a "mad song," is set in an agitated, dissonant style. "Soldier, Rest!" juxtaposes contrasting ideas in alternate lines; Carr correspondingly employs dotted rhythms in a martial 4/4 for line one ("Soldier, rest! thy warfare o'er"), then shifts to a lilting 6/8 for line two ("Sleep the sleep that knows not breaking").

*The Lady of the Lake* makes clear Carr's understanding of the balance between European style and American taste. Although in his choice of subject matter and his sensitivity to Romantic drama he was actually anticipating European trends, Carr's musical language remained consistent with what his audience knew; it is effective and engaging, but does not break new ground as the subject suggests. Like most of the reformers, Carr sought to elevate taste by simplifying music and appealing to--rather than challenging--his audience. By avoiding the condescension of Oliver Holden or Lowell Mason, Carr found his way to a balanced and popular style.

#### Track 1

##### *Mary*

The heath this night must be my bed,  
The bracken curtain for my head,  
My lullaby the warder's tread,  
    Far, far, from love and thee, Mary;  
To-morrow eve, more stilly laid,  
My couch may be my bloody plaid,  
My vesper song, thy wail, sweet maid!  
    It will not waken me, Mary!

I may not, dare not, fancy now  
The grief that clouds thy lovely brow,  
I dare not think upon thy vow,  
    And all it promised me, Mary!  
No fond regret must Norman know;  
When bursts Clan-Alpine on the foe,  
His heart must be like bended bow,  
    His foot like arrow free, Mary.

A time will come with feeling fraught,  
For, if I fall in battle fought,  
Thy hapless lover's dying thought  
    Shall be a thought on thee, Mary.  
And if return'd from conquer'd foes,  
How blithely will the evening close,  
How sweet the linnets sing repose,  
    To my young bride and me, Mary!

Track 2

*Soldier, Rest!*

"Soldier, rest! thy warfare o'er,  
Sleep the sleep that knows not breaking:  
Dream of battled fields no more,  
Days of danger, nights of waking.  
In our isle's enchanted hall,  
Hands unseen thy couch are strewing,  
Fairy strains of music fall,  
Every sense in slumber dewing.  
Soldier, rest! thy warfare o'er,  
Dream of fighting-fields no more:  
Sleep the sleep that knows not breaking,  
Morn of toil, nor night of waking.

"No rude sound shall reach thine ear,  
Armor's clang or war-steed champing,  
Trump nor pibroch summon here  
Mustering clan, or squadron tramping.  
Yet the lark's shrill fife may come  
At the day-break from the fallow,  
And the bittern sound his drum,  
Booming from the sedgy shallow.  
Ruder sounds shall none be near.  
Guards nor warders challenge here.

Here's no war-steed's neigh and champing,  
Shouting clans or squadrons stamping."  
"Huntsman, rest! thy chase is done,  
While our slumbrous spells assail ye,  
Dream not, with the rising sun,  
Bugles here shall sound reveille.  
Sleep! the deer is in his den;  
Sleep! thy hounds are by thee lying  
Sleep! nor dream in yonder glen,  
How thy gallant steed lay dying.  
Huntsman, rest; thy chase is done,  
Think not of the rising sun,  
For at dawning to assail ye,  
Here no bugles sound reveille."

Track 3

*Hymn to the Virgin*

*Ave Maria!* maiden mild!

Listen to a maiden's prayer!  
Thou canst hear though from the wild,  
Thou canst save amid despair.  
Safe may we sleep beneath thy care,  
Though banish'd, outcast, and reviled--  
Maiden! hear a maiden's prayer;  
Mother, hear a suppliant child!  
*Ave Maria!*

*Ave Maria!* undefiled!  
The flinty couch we now must share  
Shall seem with down of eider piled,  
If thy protection hover there.  
The murky cavern's heavy air  
Shall breathe of balm if thou hast smiled;  
Then, Maiden! hear a maiden's prayer,  
Mother, list a suppliant child!  
*Ave Maria!*

*Ave Maria!* Stainless styled!  
Foul demons of the earth and air,  
From this their wonted haunt exiled,  
Shall flee before thy presence fair.  
We bow us to our lot of care,  
Beneath thy guidance reconciled;  
Hear for a maid a maiden's prayer,  
And for a father hear a child!  
*Ave Maria!*

Track 4  
*Blanche of Devan*

They bid me sleep, they bid me pray,  
They say my brain is warp'd and wrung--  
I cannot sleep on Highland brae,  
I cannot pray in Highland tongue.  
But were I now where Allan glides,  
Or heard my native Devan's tides,  
So sweetly would I rest, and pray  
That Heaven would close my wintry day!

'Twas thus my hair they bade me braid,  
They made me to the church repair;  
It was my bridal morn, they said,  
And my true love would meet me there.  
But woe betide the cruel guile,

That drown'd in blood the morning smile!  
And woe betide the fairy dream!  
I only waked to sob and scream.--

Track 5

*Alice Brand*

Merry it is in the good greenwood,  
    When the mavis and merle are singing,  
When the deer sweeps by, and the hounds are in cry,  
    And the hunter's horn is ringing.

"O Alice Brand, my native land  
    Is lost for love of you;  
And we must hold by wood and wold,  
    As outlaws wont to do.

"O Alice, 'twas all for thy locks so bright,  
    And 'twas all for thine eyes so blue,  
That on the night of our luckless flight,  
    Thy brother bold I slew.

"Now must I teach to hew the beech,  
    The hand that held the glaive,  
For leaves to spread our lowly bed,  
    And stakes to fence our cave.

"And for vest of pall, thy fingers small,  
    That wont on harp to stray,  
A cloak must shear from the slaughter'd deer,  
    To keep the cold away."

"O Richard! if my brother died,  
    'Twas but a fatal chance;  
For darkling was the battle tried,  
    And fortune sped the lance.

"If pall and vair no more I wear,  
    Nor thou the crimson sheen,  
As warm, we'll say, is the russet gray,  
    As gay the forest-green.

"And, Richard, if our lot be hard,  
    And lost thy native land,  
Still Alice has her own Richard,  
    And he his Alice Brand."



'Tis merry, 'tis merry, in good greenwood,  
    So blithe Lady Alice is singing;  
On the beech's pride, and the oak's brown side,  
    Lord Richard's axe is ringing.

Up spoke the moody Elfin King,  
    Who won'd within the hill,--  
Like wind in the porch of a ruin'd church,  
    His voice was ghostly shrill.

"Why sounds yon stroke on beech and oak,  
    Our moonlight circle's screen?  
Or who comes here to chase the deer,  
    Beloved of our Elfin Queen?  
Or who may dare on wold to wear  
    The fairies' fatal green?"

"Up, Urgan, up! to yon mortal hie,  
    For thou wert christen'd man;  
For cross or sign thou wilt not fly,  
    For mutter'd word or ban.

"Lay on him the curse of the wither'd heart,  
    The curse of the sleepless eye;  
Till he wish and pray that his life would part,  
    Not yet find leave to die."

'Tis merry, 'tis merry, in good greenwood,  
    Though the birds have still'd their singing;  
The evening blaze doth Alice raise,  
    And Richard is fagots bringing.

Up Urgan starts, that hideous dwarf,  
    Before Lord Richard stands,  
And, as he cross'd and bless'd himself,  
"I fear not sign," quoth the grisly elf,  
    "That is made with bloody hands."

But out then spoke she, Alice Brand,  
    That woman void of fear,--  
"And if there's blood upon his hand,  
    'Tis but the blood of deer."--

"Now loud thou liest, thou bold of mood!  
    It cleaves unto his hand,

The stain of thine own kindly blood,  
The blood of Ethert Brand."--

Then forward stepp'd she, Alice Brand,  
And made the holy sign,--  
"And if there's blood on Richard's hand,  
A spotless hand is mine.

"And I conjure thee, Demon elf,  
By Him whom Demons fear,  
To show us whence thou art thyself,  
And what thine errand here?"

" 'Tis merry, 'tis merry, in Fairy-land,  
When fairy birds are singing,  
When the court doth ride by their monarch's side,  
With bit and bridle ringing:

"And gayly shines the Fairy-land--  
But all is glistening show  
Like the idle gleam that December's beam  
Can dart on ice and snow.

"And fading, like that varied gleam,  
Is our inconstant shape,  
Who now like knight and lady seem,  
And now like dwarf and ape.

"It was between the night and day,  
When the Fairy King has power,  
That I sunk down in a sinful fray,  
And, 'twixt life and death, was snatch'd away  
To the joyless Elfin bower.

"But wist I of a woman bold,  
Who thrice my brow durst sign,  
I might regain my mortal mold,  
As fair a form as thine."--

She cross'd him once--she cross'd him twice--  
That lady was so brave;  
The fouler grew his goblin hue,  
The darker grew the cave.

She cross'd him thrice, that lady bold;  
He rose beneath her hand

The fairest knight on Scottish mold,  
Her brother, Ethert Brand!

Merry it is in good greenwood,  
When the mavis and merle are singing,  
But merrier were they in Dunfermline gray,  
When all the bells were ringing.

Track 6  
*Coronach*

He is gone on the mountain,  
He is lost to the forest,  
Like a summer-dried fountain,  
When our need was the sorest.  
The font, reappearing,  
From the raindrops shall borrow,  
But to us comes no cheering,  
to Duncan no morrow!

The hand of the reaper  
Takes the ears that are hoary,  
But the voice of the weeper  
Wails manhood in glory,  
The autumn winds rushing  
Waft the leaves that are searest,  
But our flower was in flushing,  
When blighting was nearest.

Fleet foot on the correi,  
Sage counsel in cumber,  
Red hand in the foray,  
How sound is thy slumber!  
Like the dew on the mountain,  
Like the foam on the river,  
Like the bubble on the fountain  
Thou art gone, and forever!

OLIVER SHAW  
(1779-1848)  
*There's Nothing True but Heav'n*  
(Thomas Moore)

Both Carr and Jackson were English emigrants, and their careers were largely devoted to promoting English styles in the New World. Oliver Shaw was an American, and although he greatly helped to

popularize European composers, it is significant that, of the three, he alone is perhaps best remembered for his music.

Born in Newport, Rhode Island, Shaw was expected to go to sea, but he lost the sight in one eye in a childhood accident and was totally blinded by yellow fever at the age of twenty-one. He was already a pupil of the blind organist John Berkenhead, who had emigrated from England in 1795, and it may have been his teacher's example that induced him to turn to music as a career.

In 1800 Shaw moved to Boston to study with Gottlieb Graupner, who was associated with Jackson's 1812 concerts and was later instrumental in founding the Handel and Haydn Society. Although he left Boston for Dedham two years later, Shaw continued to perform there regularly for the next twenty years, often as tenor soloist with the Society. Settling in Providence in 1807, he embarked on a varied career as organist, singer, teacher, composer, and publisher, and remained the center of musical life there until his death.

Shaw's contributions, like Jackson's and Carr's, were in part simply supportive. While in Dedham, the young Lowell Mason was his pupil; Mason reportedly said later that he "owed all" to Shaw. In 1810, Shaw and a group of friends established a "Psallonian Society" in Providence "for the purpose of improving themselves in the knowledge and practice of sacred music and inculcating a more correct taste in the choice and performance of it." Thus the Psallonians anticipated Boston's Handel and Haydn Society by five years and Philadelphia's Musical Fund Society by ten. In a sense, the Boston Society was Shaw's stepchild, for Thomas Webb (first trained by William Billings) was both co-founder of the Psallonians and first president of the Boston group.

As a reform hymnodist, Shaw published five substantial volumes of music and contributed to many others. One of his two collections of secular works contained a number of his own keyboard compositions, including the popular "Bristol March." But he was probably best known for his secular songs and particularly for his settings of Thomas Moore, most of which were published about 1817--"There's Nothing True but Heav'n," "Mary's Tears," the duets "All Things Bright and Fair" and "The Bird Let Loose," among others. Of these, "There's Nothing True but Heav'n" was the best liked, reportedly earning fifteen hundred dollars for its composer; it was also Shaw's favorite and was sung at his funeral. Many of the Moore settings were popularized by Shaw's own performances, and a description by a contemporary sounds remarkably like descriptions of Moore's own voice: "[Shaw's] sweet singing...was simple and natural, without any pretension to style or ornament."

Indeed, Shaw's settings of Moore are transparent and graceful, with melodies that blend eighteenth- and nineteenth-century idioms. In their limited compass, careful use of leaps, and especially in their rhythmic subtlety, they are reminiscent of the traditional tunes used by Moore himself. Unlike Jackson's works, Shaw's compositions were perfectly suited to the amateur of modest skill; unlike Carr's, they look forward, stylistically, rather than backward. Shaw's songs, like the other popular settings of Moore, were intermediate stages on the path to commercial music, and although Shaw's melodies have not endured as Moore's have, they appear, in retrospect, to have had a simple appeal that well deserves renewed attention.

Track 7

This world is all a fleeting show, for man's illusion giv'n;  
The smiles of joy, the tears of woe,  
Deceitful shine, deceitful flow,  
There's nothing true but heav'n!

And false the light on glory's plume, as fading hues of even;  
And love, and hope, and beauty's bloom  
Are blossoms gathered for the tomb,  
There's nothing bright but heav'n!

Poor wand'ers of a stormy day, from wave to wave we're driv'n;  
And fancy's flash, and reason's ray,  
Serve but to light the troubled way,  
There's nothing calm but heav'n!

GEORGE K. JACKSON

(1745-1822)

*The Dying Christian to His Soul*

(Alexander Pope)

Tom Moore arrived in Norfolk, Virginia, in November 1803, but stayed only briefly before continuing to Bermuda; he was in New York City in May 1804. It appears that sometime in this interval the magisterial Dr. George K. Jackson published his only setting of a text by Moore, "The Sylph." While the evidence is insufficient to convict the good doctor of opportunism, the inference is tempting. Moore's reputation had preceded him, and Jackson, who was very much in touch with English developments, would certainly have had access to Moore's poetry.

In any case, "The Sylph" was an anomaly for both Moore and Jackson. An arty trifle, it belonged to a collection of juvenile poems that Moore nearly did not publish, and its adolescent vapidness was uncharacteristic even of Jackson's most eccentric tastes. More typical was Jackson's interest in Alexander Pope's "The Dying Christian to His Soul." Very few texts by Pope were set in America, and only "The Dying Christian" was used more than once, but its four major settings were all quite important and provide a neat chronicle of American music history to 1825.

The earliest version printed in America, and perhaps the most interesting, was by William Billings (1746-1800), the dean of New England tunesmiths (for other music by Billings, see NW 276, *The Birth of Liberty: Music of the American Revolution*, and NW 255, *Make a Joyful Noise: Mainstreams and Backwaters of American Psalmody, 1770-1840*). Largely homophonic, it contains numerous tempo changes, shifts of mode and texture, and other effects calculated to paint the text with great precision. One of Billings' most-admired anthems, it went through at least ten printings in seven collections after first appearing in *The Psalm-Singer's Amusement* in 1781.

But the alleged crudities of Billings' style made even this relatively conservative piece unacceptable to the reformers. They preferred a setting by Edward Harwood (1707-1787), a British composer of simple but smooth anthems. Harwood's version first appeared in his own *Set of Hymn and Psalm Tunes* (1765),

but its earliest American printing was in Andrew Law's *Rudiments of Music* (second edition, 1785). Thereafter it was included in several reform collections, most notable the watershed seventh edition of *The Worcester Collection* (1800). In one of history's odd twists, Harwood's setting appeared in 1800 beside Billings' *Chester* in a Philadelphia memorial concert for George Washington; even more oddly, this performance led to a public squabble between Law and one "W.B." (not Billings, who had recently died) over the accuracy of Law's publication. Harwood's version persisted into the next century, and when it was included in Lowell Mason's important *Handel and Haydn Society Collection* (1822), its place in the repertory of respectability was ensured. This volume had been partly revised by Dr. Jackson, and it is yet another historical quirk that he had to choose the Harwood setting over his own, the difficulty of which was inconsistent with the collection as a whole.

In the meantime a third setting had appeared in *The Psalmodist's Best Companion* (1799), an obscure New Hampshire tunebook. This version, titled "Claremont" and attributed to "Temple and M." (presumably David Merrill, the *Companion's* editor), found its way into the shape-note repertory via John Wyeth's *Repository of Sacred Music* (1810). The crudest and least acceptable setting by reform standards, "Claremont" remained popular in the South and was eventually reprinted in B. F. White's *Sacred Harp* (1844). White's collection is, of course, still very much in use (see NW 80205, *White Spirituals from the Sacred Harp*); thus, as a final irony, the setting most removed from the reform style is the only one regularly sung today.

Jackson's own setting had far less consequence than the other three; it was apparently published only once (c. 1808), probably by the composer, and rarely performed. Its neglect is characteristic of all of Jackson's music. Although he published over a dozen pieces before leaving England, and over fifty more in America, Jackson's considerable importance derives more from his teaching and performing than from his compositions. He had been very well trained in England: he studied from the age of nine with Dr. Nares, joined King's Chapel Royal in 1773, and received his diploma from St. Andrew's College in 1791. Thus he brought to America in 1796 a thorough knowledge of the works of Handel, Haydn, and other prominent composers, performance skills that probably were unequaled in his new home, and formidable powers of organization.

The doctor arrived in Norfolk, passed through Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Elizabethtown, New Jersey, and settled in New York. In 1812 he left for Boston, a violently anti-British city at the time; trouble followed, and a year later he was forced to leave for Northampton. Musical and political controversy persisted after his return to Boston in 1815, but he continued to teach, perform, and play at various churches for the final six years of his life. A man of immense girth, considerable temper, and some eccentricity, he was easily ridiculed; even in his own day the persona known to the public was very likely more caricature than truth.

Jackson's career is notable--first, for the performances of Haydn and Handel he organized in New York and Boston, which were probably the most skilled that could then be mounted in America, and second, for the crucial support Jackson gave to numerous reform efforts, especially Lowell Mason's *Handel and Haydn Society Collection*. Although the extent of the doctor's editorial contributions remains uncertain, this extremely important publication could not have appeared without his sanction. Jackson's 1812 performances had first assembled the forces that would later found the Society--for which the Society itself was indebted to Jackson, although they feuded.

But Jackson was a restless enthusiast, as his peripatetic life attests, and more open than most to new ideas. In 1804 he had endorsed Part III of Andrew Law's *Art of Singing*, one of the earliest shape-note books; he thus became, ironically, an early advocate of a system that was universally condemned by later reformers. His interest in experiment also penetrated his music. Even before leaving England, Jackson had favored contrapuntal whimsy and stylistic diversity, in such pieces as "Opus 1st," *Dr. Watts' Divine Songs*, and "Pardon My Words, an anthem...with two canons." In America, in addition to dozens of songs, two collections of church music, and several instrumental works, he published such oddities as settings of the addition, subtraction, and multiplication tables, a group of masonic canons for up to twelve voices, and a short but elegant cancrizans canon for voice and keyboard (reproduced in H. Wiley Hitchcock, *Music in the United States*). These explorations are appropriately adventuresome for a man who emigrated at the age of fifty-one; in an odd way, Dr. Jackson was a worthy successor to the individualists of the 1770s. Inverting the reformers' judgment of the New England tunesmiths, one wonders what interesting music Jackson might have produced had he been born alongside a master like Billings.

## Track 8

Vital spark of heav'nly flame,  
Quit, oh quit this mortal frame.  
Trembling, hoping, ling'ring, flying,  
Oh, the pain, the bliss of dying.  
Cease, fond nature, cease thy strife.  
Let me languish, languish into life.  
Hark! they whisper, angels say,  
Sister spirit, come away.  
What is this absorbs me quite,  
Steals my senses, shuts my sight,  
Drowns my spirits, draws my breath.  
Tell me my soul, can this be death?  
The world recedes, it disappears.  
Heav'n opens on my eyes, my ears,  
With sounds Seraphic ring my ears.  
Lend, lend your wings,  
I mount, I fly.  
Oh, grave, where is thy victory?  
Oh, death, where is thy sting?

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8 AND THOU SHALT KNOW IT 3:06

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**BENJAMIN CARR**

THE LADY OF THE LAKE

1 MARY 4:40

Charles Bressler, tenor; Harriet Wingreen, fortepiano

2 SOLDIER, REST! 3:08

Cynthia Clarey, soprano; Harriet Wingreen, fortepiano

3 HYMN TO THE VIRGIN 9:10

Cynthia Clarey, soprano; Cynthia Otis, harp

4 BLANCHE OF DEVAN 2:47

Barbara Wallace, soprano; Cynthia Otis, harp

5 ALICE BRAND 8:53

Cynthia Clarey, soprano; Charles Bressler, tenor; Richard Anderson, baritone; Harriet Wingreen, fortepiano

6 CORONACH 3:33

Barbara Wallace, soprano; Harriet Wingreen, fortepiano

**OLIVER SHAW**

7 THERE'S NOTHING TRUE BUT HEAV'N 5:20

Susan Belling, soprano; Harriet Wingreen, fortepiano

**GEORGE K. JACKSON**

8 THE DYING CHRISTIAN TO HIS SOUL 6:57

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